



SETTLERS

**NEW ZEALAND
IMMIGRANTS**

FROM
ENGLAND, IRELAND & SCOTLAND

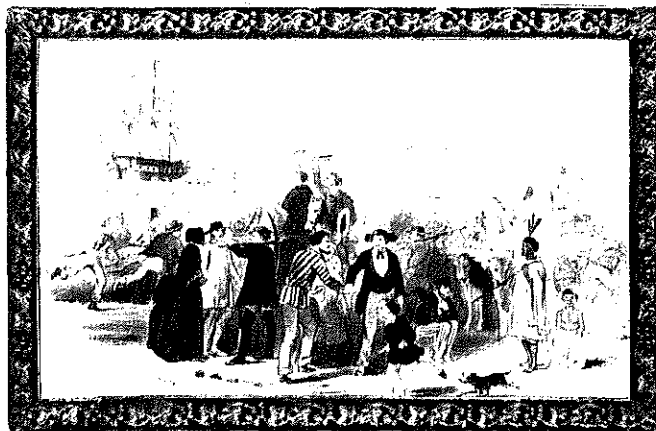
1800-1945

Jock Phillips & Terry Hearn

SETTLERS

Who were our Pakeha ancestors? Did our forefathers and mothers come from particular areas of Britain, did they tend to be rural or city folk, were they Catholics or Protestants, farmers or factory workers? Drawing on a major analysis of death registers and shipping records as well as hundreds of biographical accounts of individuals and families, *Settlers* gives the first comprehensive account of the origins of Pakeha New Zealanders.

Using individual examples of immigrants and their families, vividly depicted in the numerous illustrations, Phillips and Hearn show that these settlers were a distinctive group. They were predominantly rural dwellers practising pre-industrial crafts, low church Protestants and as often of Celtic as Anglo-Saxon heritage. They added elements of their diverse cultures to the new land - from Cornwall's meat pies to Scotland's country shows - and their shared characteristics shaped New Zealand's culture and history, from the movement for temperance and women's suffrage to New Zealanders' enthusiasm for the outdoors. *Settlers* makes a significant contribution to understanding the origins of Pakeha New Zealand.



Leading historian Jock Phillips is the general editor of *Te Ara: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand* and is also the author of several books and articles. He is best known for *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male*, his study of Kiwi masculinity.

Terry Hearn is an historical geographer currently involved in investigating Treaty of Waitangi claims and issues. He is the author of several books and articles on New Zealand's gold rush, environmental, and immigration history.

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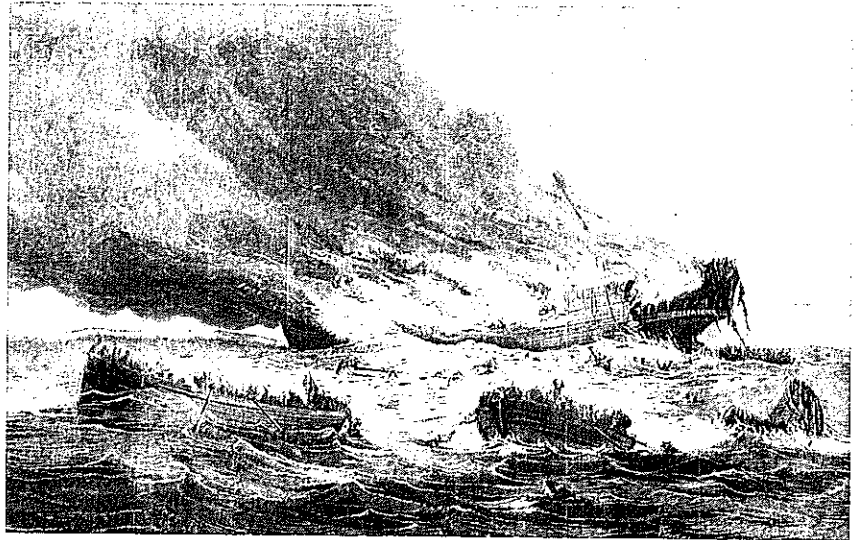
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2 *The Ebbs and Flows of Migration*

THE BRITISH AND IRISH IMMIGRANTS WHO arrived in New Zealand from about the turn of the nineteenth century formed a tiny part of one of the great migrations in human history. Some 11 million people left the United Kingdom between 1821 and 1914 – just under a quarter of the 50 million who left Europe during that period in what was one of the world's major reshufflings.¹ There were strong incentives to leave Britain and Ireland. The population of the United Kingdom increased from about 16 million in 1800 to 37 million in 1910, and although over the long term the average real wage rose, the social changes that occurred in the nineteenth century – the rise of industry and the growth of the cities – brought considerable disruption. In large parts of the British Isles rural labourers lost rights to land as the spread of pastoral farming led to commons being enclosed, and in Scotland crofters were cleared off their lands. Industrialisation destroyed the livelihoods of many who had earned a living from domestic crafts like spinning and weaving. In Ireland the potato famine brought death to hundreds of thousands. In the cities conditions were often dirty and disease-ridden, and work was monotonous and dangerous. Throughout the United Kingdom many people looked across the seas to new and, they hoped, better worlds.

Only a very small proportion of the emigrant flood ended up in New Zealand. The first 'new worlds' to which any British Isles emigrant aspired were the United States or British North America (later Canada).

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The *Cospatrick* on fire off the coast of the Cape of Good Hope, November 1874. The ship was carrying migrants to New Zealand, a number of them recruited from Oxfordshire. It is thought the fire started when a crew member or passenger pilfering cargo set fire to straw. The ship burnt for 40 hours before sinking, but only two lifeboats were launched successfully, carrying just 62 of the 473 people on board. One boat was never seen again. When the second boat was found ten days later only five people were still alive, and two of them died soon after being rescued. The news of the disaster halted immigration efforts in Oxfordshire, and the people of Shipton-under-Wychwood put up a memorial to those from the village who died.

WOOD ENGRAVING BY SAMUEL CLAVERT, PUBL-0047-1875-09, ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY

By the nineteenth century there were 200 years of movement across the Atlantic, and routes to the ports, especially Liverpool, were well-trodden. New Zealand, by contrast, was the most distant new world of all, and therefore the most expensive and difficult to reach. Because it was the last to be discovered by Europeans, there was no established tradition of going there.

The average cost of a fare to New Zealand in the nineteenth century was over four times that of the fare across the Atlantic and, until the coming of steam power, the voyage usually took about 100 days 'in a leaky boat'. The journey across the great southern circle was often cold and rough, and conditions were cramped. Three months or more of seasickness and poor food was hardly an alluring prospect. On occasion major disasters on the journey were reported in Britain, such as the fire

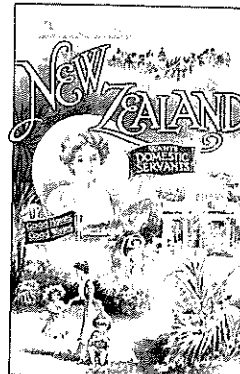
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By order of the Board,
JOHN WARD, Secretary.
New Zealand Land Company's Office,
1 Adam street, Adelphi,
14th August, 1839.

FREE PASSAGE.

EMIGRATION to NEW ZEALAND.
The Directors of the New Zealand Land Company hereby give notice that they are ready to receive applications for a Free Passage to their first and principal settlements, from Mechanics, Gardeners, and Agricultural Labourers, being married, and not exceeding 30 years of age. Strict inquiry will be made as to qualifications and character. The Company's Emigrant Ships will sail from England early in September next. Further particulars and printed forms of application may be obtained at the Company's Offices.
By order of the Directors,
JOHN WARD, Secretary.
No. 1 Adam street, Adelphi,
June 15, 1839.

**NEW ZEALAND
COMPANY
EMIGRATION.**
THE COURT OF DIRECTORS
NEW ZEALAND COMPANY
AGRICULTURAL
MECHANICS,
FARM LABORERS,
Domestic Servants
WEDNESDAY, the 9th AUGUST.
A J A X
Monday, the 4th September next.
Thomas Cudbert Harington.



Advertisements offering passages to New Zealand became steadily more alluring over the years. To the left is a simple newspaper notice lodged by the New Zealand Company in 1839. By 1848 (middle) a poster with bold calligraphy was being produced and the offers had extended to domestic servants, although only assisted, not free, passages were promised. By 1912 (right) images of a rural paradise and domestic comfort were being used to attract domestic servants alone. 12523-A, AUCKLAND CITY LIBRARIES; HOCKEN LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF OTAGO; EPH-A-IMMIGRATION-1912-COVER, ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY

on the *Cospatrick* in 1874 in which 470 passengers and crew died. There was always the danger of epidemics sweeping through the passengers, bringing death especially to the young.² Further, for at least the first 30 years after organised settlement began in 1840 the reputation of New Zealand was distinctly mixed. Settlers were thought to be in danger of being killed in earthquakes or eaten by cannibals. There was strong competition from attractive destinations – the United States, with its image of prosperity and opportunity; the British North American colonies such as Newfoundland and upper and lower Canada, which were perceived as a 'British' version of Uncle Sam; and Australia, the 'workingman's paradise'. As the *Dublin University Magazine* noted in 1845, New Zealand was 'the most recent, remotest, and least civilised of our colonies'.³

In these circumstances there had to be special incentives to attract people to New Zealand, and it is these incentives that largely explain the story of British migration to this country. The most important was the offer of assisted migration, sometimes extending to a free passage, which was first used by the New Zealand Company in 1840. Then after

1852 a number of provincial governments provided assisted migration, and finally between 1871 and 1890, and from 1904 until the Second World War, the New Zealand government provided assistance.

From the beginning these schemes depended on a network of recruiting agents, who often travelled to likely destinations in Britain and Ireland selling the idea of a promised land in the South Pacific. Sometimes they took on the role part-time and were responsible for a small area. The agents usually offered the carrot of either a free passage or one that was considerably cheaper than the norm. Occasionally, as happened with Auckland's scheme in the 1850s and 1860s, migrants were bribed with the offer of free land, a mechanism that had been widely used in the peopling of North America.

On quite a number of occasions the job of selling these schemes was taken on by an individual or a small group who had a vision of establishing an arcadia in the New World and would effectively negotiate a bulk purchase of land and assisted passages. In the early 1860s, for example, a group of non-Conformists from the Midlands sent out some 3000 people who were intended to settle on land they had been granted at Albertland, on the Kaipara Harbour (although in the end only about half made it that far). In the next decade George Vesey Stewart, a gentleman entrepreneur from County Tyrone in Ireland, hoped to repair his fortune by land speculation in New Zealand; he is said to have been responsible for bringing about 4000 people to New Zealand in the ten years after 1875. The exact proportion of immigrants who came to New Zealand under assistance schemes is not easy to quantify, since we do not have exact figures for the provincial schemes. In addition, the gross immigration statistics include many short-term arrivals and departures, while the net migration figures would have excluded some of the assisted who subsequently left. The indications are that at least a third of those people who came from the United Kingdom as long-term migrants were assisted.⁴

A second form of 'assisted' migration came as a result of the New Zealand Wars, which brought regiments of soldiers to the South Pacific in the 1840s and again in the 1860s. Some of these soldiers took their discharge here. Others were brought here deliberately as 'soldier settlers' to assist in the defence of areas of white settlement, especially Auckland, against possible Maori attack.

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A third incentive was the promise of quick wealth, in particular the lure of gold. Men – and there were far more men than women who came for this reason – were prepared to travel long distances and endure considerable privations when they got the glint of gold in their eyes. Another special case comprised those who had already travelled five-sixths of the journey from the British Isles by migrating to Australia. If you were in New South Wales or Victoria, it was not such an obstacle or too expensive to get on a boat and cross the Tasman – especially since at least until the Great War the southeast of Australia and 'Maoriland', as New Zealand was known, were part of one world with frequent travel and communications. When economic fortunes favoured this side of the Tasman over the other, numbers would cross the ditch. Equally, of course, when fortunes favoured those in Australia the outflow from New Zealand was considerable.

Finally, even when these special circumstances applied, there were obviously personal incentives that might explain an individual's decision to choose New Zealand as a 'new country' – a woman might follow a husband, a sister or a brother, a friend follow a friend. Certain communities established patterns of migrating to New Zealand over other destinations. Shetlanders, for example, began to follow other members of their community to New Zealand from the 1870s. Health was a relatively common factor. Tuberculosis sufferers came in the hope of relief in New Zealand's clear air. Ann Alabaster came out in 1859 because her husband Charles had been told that only a long sea voyage would allow him to recover from TB. Sadly he did not recover, and after his death in 1865 Ann supported herself by running a school which became recognised as the leading preparatory institution in Canterbury.⁵

Many professional people, such as ministers, university teachers or scientists, were happy to travel round the globe when offered the chance of furthering their careers. New Zealand, like other new societies, also attracted individuals who believed that in a new country they could fulfil their political or religious dreams. Ernest Allen, to take one example, was the son of a butcher who became a staunch socialist.⁶ In 1912, as the 'red federation' emerged in New Zealand, he set off for this country in the belief that it was the world's best hope for revolutionary unionism.

The importance of these special incentives in attracting immigrants

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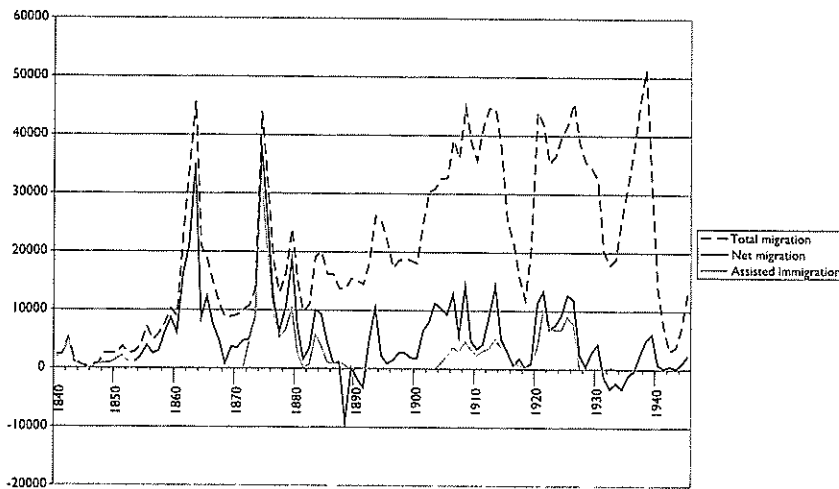
Mary Pulling came to New Zealand purely for professional reasons. A distinguished teacher at English high schools, she was invited by the Anglican Bishop of Auckland to come out and start a church school for girls. Diocesan High School for Girls began soon after her arrival in 1904, and by the time she retired 22 years later it was recognised as a fine institution with a high academic reputation.

· DIOCESAN SCHOOL FOR GIRLS

helps to explain the fact that migration to New Zealand from Britain and Ireland was not a microcosm of the general outflow to new worlds during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. People came to New Zealand from particular places, affected by the presence of agents selling assisted passages or by family and community traditions. Certain areas came to be 'New Zealand-prone'. Furthermore, the flows to New Zealand were not even; migration occurred in fits and starts as particular incentives came into play.

The uneven tempo of the migration from Britain and Ireland is vividly illustrated in the graph opposite,⁷ which charts migration from all countries to New Zealand between 1840 and 1945. Since 90 per cent of the immigrants were from Britain and Ireland, the graph provides a good chronology of the course of migration of people from the United Kingdom (bearing in mind, of course, that at certain periods many of

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ANNUAL MIGRATION TO NEW ZEALAND, 1840-1945

those people would have come from Australia rather than direct from the Old World). The graph shows distinct highs and lows, particularly when we look at net migration (that is, the numbers who arrived minus those who left New Zealand in any one year). One of the striking facts about migration to New Zealand through this period is that residence was often temporary. A high proportion of migrants came, saw and did not conquer. For many who endured the long voyage here, New Zealand was not the promised land.

The graph reveals a series of distinct inward flows that document the exceptional situations bringing people to New Zealand. To better understand the ebbs and flows of the migratory tide, we have divided the whole period into six shorter units – the years up to 1840; the years of Crown Colony government (1840 to 1852); the years of provincial migration (1853 to 1870); the years of central government assistance (1871 to 1890); the prewar period (1891 to 1915); and finally the inter-war years (1916 to 1945).

1769-1839

In the years before the 1840s the numbers arriving were very small. For 70 years after Cook's 'rediscovery' of New Zealand, the distance and

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expense of the journey remained an obstacle to settlement from Britain and Ireland. The small number who did migrate to New Zealand were exceptional people, either those – James Belich's 'Tasmen'⁸ – who were already in Sydney, or the few who came to the Pacific in the single-minded pursuit of their trade.

Most of the initial migration came from across the Tasman. The earliest group were the sealers, who were the first non-Maori to live for any length of time in this country – at Dusky Sound in 1792. Few sealers stayed very long. Practically the only settlement they established, in about 1825, was on Codfish Island, off the northwest coast of Stewart Island, although within a few years most had moved onto Stewart Island itself or to mainland Southland.⁹

The early whalers had often travelled far to follow their prey and they too did not often stay, but when shore-based whaling began in the late 1820s there was a greater incentive to settle. Shore-based whaling stations were established along the coasts from Foveaux Strait to East Cape, and some acquired substantial populations of between 40 and 80 men.¹⁰ Quite a number of these early shore-whalers came from Sydney; many were ex-convicts who had been taken to New South Wales against their will and either escaped or sought a new life across the Tasman after serving their sentence. Such a man was the Englishman Jacky Guard, who had been arrested in St Marylebone, London, for stealing a quilt in 1813, and was subsequently sent out to Sydney. After serving his time Guard became a sealer and ship's captain. He set up his shore station in the Marlborough Sounds some time between 1827 and 1829, but retained contact with Sydney. Certainly 15-year-old Elizabeth, whom he married in 1830, had been born there to another ex-convict family.¹¹

Another group with strong Sydney origins were those who were interested in trading in flax for rope or timber for naval spars. James Busby's census of 1836 indicated that almost a third of the European adult males in New Zealand were involved in the timber trade.¹² Some eventually settled as Pakeha Maori, acting as intermediaries between their Maori suppliers and their Australian customers.¹³ These early sealers, whalers and traders were largely males, and they included a rich assortment of men. There seems little doubt that a considerable number of them did have convict backgrounds, and therefore they

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John Howell, seated right, was born in Sussex. He stowed away on a ship bound for Australia, where he joined a whaling ship, and arrived at Kapiti Island as a whaler in about 1828. He served with the prominent whaler and trader Johnny Jones, and then established a whaling station at Jacob's River (later Riverton) in the mid-1830s. At first he refused to follow the whalers' convention and take a Maori wife, but eventually he agreed and in fact did so twice. He had nineteen children. The man seated at left is another well-known whaler, the American Lewis Acker. WALLACE EARLY SETTLERS MUSEUM

tended to be either English or Irish, since very few Scots or Welsh were transported.¹⁴

People of a very different stripe were the missionaries, sent out by church organisations to convert the heathen. In a sense they too had come a long way in pursuit of their trade. Samuel Marsden initiated their settlement in the Bay of Islands in 1814. Some of the mission stations acquired substantial European populations: Rangihoua had reached 45 by 1819, and by 1830 over 60.¹⁵ They included quite a number of women, such as Marianne and Jane Williams, the wives of the missionary brothers Henry and William Williams. Marianne, who was from Yorkshire, came out with Henry in 1823. Jane was the daughter of a dissenting

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family from Nottingham, England; she arrived in the Bay of Islands with William in 1825. The two women developed a close working partnership which later led to a rich correspondence. When Jane finally died at the age of 95 she was the last of the pre-annexation missionary band which, including families, numbered 206 by 1839.¹⁶

Finally, in the late 1830s, a few free settlers came across from Australia in the expectation of British annexation and to escape difficulties across the sea caused by drought and increased prices for Crown land.¹⁷ It is difficult to find reliable evidence of the numbers of these early immigrants. Arrivals seem to have been few and sporadic until about 1830, and they began to increase from 1833. But it was never a flood. Most estimates give the European population of New Zealand at the end of 1839 as about 2000. Those who settled in New Zealand before 1840 were a small and select bunch.

Crown Colony, 1840-1852

In 1840 the first major wave of settlement in New Zealand began. British annexation, with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, and the emergence of the New Zealand Company, which had big ambitions for British settlement, changed the situation markedly. In the United Kingdom the 1840s saw a dramatic rise in outward migration to all places as agricultural and industrial distress hit hard.¹⁸ The ebb and flow of out-migration to the New World followed cyclical fluctuations in the British economy. There was a marked depression in the years 1837-42, a period of improving prosperity during the mid-1840s, and finally another period of economic depression and social distress with major crop failures, notably in Ireland, but also in the Highlands and islands of Scotland, and in Cornwall.¹⁹ The fluctuations in migration to New Zealand during these years were clearly affected by these broad trends, although the famine-hit Irish overwhelmingly travelled across the Atlantic rather than to the south.

Between 1840 and 1852 (the Crown Colony period) about 27,500 people arrived in New Zealand, of whom about two-thirds came direct from the United Kingdom.²⁰ The numbers were not great, but they were significant in establishing future patterns. The major explanation for this migration is the recruiting efforts of the New Zealand Company and its offshoots, the Canterbury Association and the Otago

Association. Though inspired by Edward Gibbon Wakefield's vision for an ordered community, the company was a business proposition. It purchased land from Maori for on-sale to investors who were expected to come out as 'colonists'. Many of them chose not to do so, especially those who bought land in Nelson, but a few did and became significant figures in the new communities. One such was Samuel Revans, the son of a London surgeon who trained as a printer. After setting up as a merchant he suffered a financial reverse, and he decided to invest his remaining assets in New Zealand Company land orders. Before leaving on the *Adelaide* in September 1839 Revans purchased printing equipment, and he produced an edition of the *New Zealand Gazette* only a month after landing on Petone beach. For a time he was a great promoter of the Wellington settlement, before leaving printing to invest in Wairarapa land and enter politics. Ironically, in the first general assembly of 1854 he became a bitter opponent of Edward Gibbon Wakefield.²¹

Although the New Zealand Company attracted some investors such as Revans, its success depended on recruiting a sufficient number of labourers. They could provide a workforce and a market to ensure there was a steady demand for land. Of the 27,500 people who came to New Zealand in these years, about 14,000 – over half – came as assisted immigrants, their passage paid for by the Company or its successors. Among those who came to Wellington on the second New Zealand Company ship, the *Aurora*, were Andrew Brown and his sons. This was in part because Samuel Revans had recommended Andrew to the company. Andrew himself was the son of a tenant farmer near Dundee in Scotland, but he had moved to Camberwell in London where reportedly he was a retailer. His wife had died, and perhaps to make a new start he came to New Zealand with his two sons, all three applying to the company as carpenters. Andrew set himself up as a storekeeper on an island (which came to be known as Brown's Island) at the southern end of Kapiti, catering to whalers. His two daughters eventually migrated to join the family in 1855.²²

Immigrants like the Browns came in two distinct waves. Some 10,000 arrived in the first few years of settlement at the company towns of Wellington, Nelson, New Plymouth and Wanganui. The year 1842, with some 5000 newcomers, saw the largest number of immigrants for

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Samuel Parnell, June 1890.

Parnell was a London carpenter who came out on one of the first New Zealand Company ships, *Duke of Roxborough*, and landed at Petone beach in February 1840. On board ship he agreed to build a fellow passenger's store, but only on the condition that he worked for eight hours a day. Subsequently, it is said, he met incoming ships and enlisted the support of the new arrivals in his cause. The photograph was taken on the jubilee of Wellington's settlement, when Parnell was fêted as 'the father of the eight-hour day'. He died soon after.

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the next fifteen years. Because of the English leadership of the company, most of the assisted settlers were English. Many of those who came out to New Plymouth had been recruited around Cornwall and Devon by the Plymouth Company, an auxiliary of the New Zealand Company. They included, for example, 33 families, largely agricultural labouring people travelling in steerage, who came from the Devon-Cornwall border around Holsworthy.²³

In the mid-1840s the number of such immigrants fell to a trickle as the company faced legal and financial difficulties, the Northern War broke out and there was growing pessimism about the colony's future. Then came a second wave of assisted migrants. There was an organised group from Scotland led by Free Church Presbyterians, who arrived with boatloads of Scots in Otago in 1848. Two years later the Church of England Canterbury Association brought the first four ships of English settlers to Lyttelton.

Most of those arriving in company settlements had come direct from the United Kingdom. This was much less true of those who peopled the non-company areas in and around Auckland. Here different factors had an influence. One important group comprised those who arrived in response to the outbreak of war with Maori in the north. The 58th Regiment, for example, was in Australia when it was summoned in 1845, bringing such men as Alexander Whisker from County Armagh. Whisker kept a memorandum book in which he recorded his episodes of drinking and fighting among the grog shops of Auckland. He also recorded his involvement in the battle of Ruapekapeka, where his fellow soldiers included our Paisley migrant Daniel Munro, who had joined the Auckland militia. Some 700 of these soldiers were given their discharge in New Zealand and some, like Whisker, brought wives and children across the Tasman to settle. Despite a series of arrests associated with strong liquor, Whisker became a dairyman and eventually fathered six sons and two daughters.²⁴

Another 2500 people, including women and children, were brought to New Zealand as the so-called Royal New Zealand Fencibles in 1847-48. These were settlers who were granted land in the area south of Auckland on the understanding that they would be prepared to undertake military service and help provide protection to the young capital.²⁵ Like many British soldiers, a good proportion of these were Irish. One such was Walter Murphy, originally from County Galway in Ireland, who had served in the British Army for sixteen years before being declared medically unfit. He became a Chelsea pensioner receiving a small allowance, but he jumped at the chance of land in return for military readiness in New Zealand. In 1847 he arrived in Auckland with his wife Catherine O'Shaughnessy, and the family were given a wooden cottage and some land at Howick, where his two children were baptised into the Catholic church.²⁶

Auckland also attracted a few smaller organised groups. In 1842, amid claims that the British government had breached an understanding not to send convicts to New Zealand, 98 young boys from Parkhurst Reformatory arrived. Another 31 followed a year later, but such was the outcry that the experiment was not repeated. Also in 1842, as we have already seen, 514 people from Paisley, near Glasgow, came out to Auckland as a response to the depression in the local shawl-

making industry. There were also over 400 assisted under the Poor Law Amendment Act, administered by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners.

Although the numbers involved in these groups were not large, the impulse behind their migration needs to be seen within the context of the reform of the Poor Law in Britain at this time. Traditionally, local communities would support the poor and underemployed in their district, but during the 1830s and 1840s this tradition came under attack. Instead, relief would only be given 'indoors', in newly built workhouses. Migration overseas was seen as a ready alternative to charity by offering the unemployed the possibility of an independent living on the new lands across the sea. Although the numbers sent to New Zealand directly by the new Poor Law were not large, its punitive provisions were a significant factor in encouraging many to apply for assisted passages.²⁷

Finally, the 1840s saw some free settlers arriving in the colony as individuals. There were some government officials, merchants and aspiring younger sons of the respectable class who came out to make a mark in the colony. Auckland attracted a number of independent immigrants from across the Tasman, including quite a few people with an Irish background. One interesting story is that of some Cornish miners who came across from South Australia as individuals, although presumably following their mates, when they heard about the discovery of copper on Kawau Island in 1844. They had originally come out to South Australia as a result of distress in the Cornish mining towns, and about 300, including women and children, followed their hopes to Kawau. When mining was abandoned, some of these families took up farming.²⁸ In such ways, whether through the dreams ignited by New Zealand Company promotion or in the hopes of individual wealth, the obstacles of migration to New Zealand were overcome and the country began to be settled by British and Irish.

1853-1870

Between 1853 and 1870 the Pakeha population rose from about 30,000 to over 250,000. Much of this increase was the result of immigration. During these years almost 250,000 people migrated to New Zealand and about 100,000 left, resulting in a net gain of almost 150,000. Probably two-thirds of the long-term migrants came direct from the

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United Kingdom (with the rest largely from Australia), but this was just a small portion of the over 150,000 people each year who poured out of the British Isles to New World destinations during the early 1850s and the 1860s. The graph of net immigration to New Zealand (page 27) shows a steady rise during the 1850s, a dramatic rise in the early 1860s, then an equally dramatic falling away in the late 1860s. This was a period of energy and growth, characterised by three significant factors – the importance of the provincial administrations, the impact of the gold rushes, and the effect of the New Zealand Wars. Each of these factors had a crucial effect on the course of immigration, and together they largely explain these figures.

The provincial governments took responsibility for immigration under the New Zealand Constitution Act 1852. For the next eighteen years, until the central government began to take over immigration, most of the provinces had schemes for encouraging migrants. Usually provinces hired agents in Britain and Ireland to go out and recruit immigrants with the offer of cheap (that is, 'assisted') or free passages to New Zealand. Immigrants were seen as the key to growth and prosperity. Hawke's Bay, Wellington, Nelson and Southland all had small schemes for bringing in immigrants. Otago province was more active, but unfortunately most of its records have been lost.

Most of these provinces were looking for the same kinds of people as the New Zealand Company had tried to attract – farm labourers, builders and domestic servants. They gave priority to families and unmarried women, and a number of provinces accepted nominations from relatives. The most energetically promoted scheme was that of Canterbury, which brought in about 18 per cent of New Zealand's gross immigration between 1858 and 1870; almost two-thirds of these migrants were assisted. There was a significant flow of assisted immigrants to Canterbury in 1858 and 1859, then larger flows again in 1862 and 1863.

One large family who came out in 1863 as assisted passengers was that of Henry and Grace Penberthy, from the Cornish mining town of Helston. Henry was a builder, a preferred occupation for assistance, and their local community was suffering overcrowding and disease. Perhaps Henry and Grace were also influenced by New Zealand's reputation as a place where single women were in demand. Three unmarried

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Margaret McKinlay, a dairymaid from Lanarkshire in Scotland, came out to Canterbury as an assisted passenger in 1863 after a quarrel with her father's third wife. As was expected she initially worked as a domestic servant, but within three years she had married George Gardner who had been an officer on the immigration boat. The couple established a farm and flour-mill at Cust, and when George killed himself while handling a loaded gun Margaret Gardner took over managing the farm, the expanding mill company and her ten children.

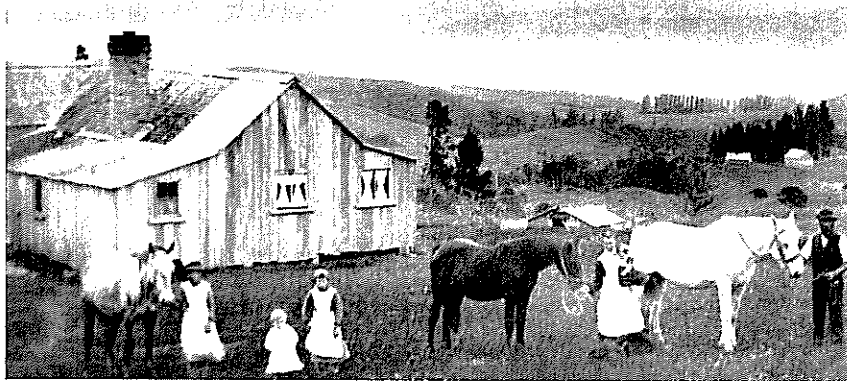
A woman of some physical strength, she is said to have beaten her sons well into their teens. 1/2-197504; F, ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY



daughters came out, along with two sons. The older son also brought his wife, her sister and her niece. So the total group was ten people, for whom Henry paid £89 5s, while the province paid £47 5s. Perhaps the choice was also influenced by the presence in Christchurch of a Helston friend, a preacher at the Wesley Chapel. But for this family, as for many migrants, the New World was not entirely a paradise reborn. The eldest son, Henry, was declared bankrupt in 1870, and by 1990 only one descendant still carried the family name.²⁹

Auckland province used a different system to attract migrants – the lure of land. Under a scheme introduced in 1858, agents in the United Kingdom had authority to grant land orders to prospective emigrants at the rate of 40 acres for every person aged eighteen or over, and 20 acres for those between five and seventeen. In the ten years of the scheme 15,516 land orders were issued, and these were probably responsible

THE EBBS AND FLOWS OF MIGRATION



Some of the non-Conformist settlers who came out from the English Midlands in the early 1860s stand in front of their new post office at Albertland on the Kaipara Harbour.

ALBERTLAND AND DISTRICTS MUSEUM

for bringing in over 40 per cent of Auckland's immigrants during these years. Given that Auckland attracted over 20 per cent of New Zealand's net immigration gain, the land scheme was a significant contributor to the country's increasing population.

Auckland also saw two special schemes of settlement. First, there was the famous Highland Scots migration of Norman McLeod's followers, some 800 strong. Norman McLeod was a lay preacher who was unhappy at the liberalism of the Church of Scotland and hoped to restore the fierce Calvinism of John Knox. A charismatic preacher, he first led his intrepid followers across the Atlantic to Cape Breton Island in Nova Scotia in 1820. Later, when failing crops threatened the community, 300 followed the prophet first to Australia, then on to Auckland, where they arrived in 1853. A year later they settled at Waipu in Northland, and over the next six years they were joined by four more shiploads of Highlanders from Nova Scotia.³⁰

The second special scheme involved a group of some 3000 English non-Conformists who came out between 1862 and 1865. The Albertland scheme was initiated by William Brame, a journalist and the son of a Baptist minister, to mark the bicentenary of the expulsion of non-Conformists from the Church of England in 1660. Brame hoped to establish a 'model' agricultural community. The association

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obtained 70,000 acres on the Kaipara Harbour under Auckland's '40 acre' scheme. Farm labourers and craftsmen were recruited from the Midlands, Yorkshire and Lancashire, and eight shiploads landed in Auckland in 1862-63. Only about half of the new arrivals finally settled at Albertland itself, on the Kaipara Harbour.³¹ Among those who never made it to the Kaipara were the journalist Henry Brett, who was the group's historian, and the famous late-nineteenth-century landscape painter Charles Blomfield.

If free land or cheap fares enticed some immigrants, gold was an even more powerful magnet. Although there had been a small rush to the Coromandel in 1852, and a larger flow to Golden Bay and the Aorere Valley between 1857 and 1859, it was Gabriel Read's discovery in Otago in May 1861 that triggered real interest across the seas. The steep climb in the immigration graph over the subsequent two years was largely (although not wholly) a testimony to the migrants' hopes of a golden fortune. Figures peaked at a gross inflow of over 45,000 people in 1863, which would remain the largest annual inflow for the next 100 years. Then in 1864, just as returns started to decline in Otago, there were discoveries in the Wakamarina in Marlborough and on the West Coast. The following year the West Coast rushes were in full swing, and they continued to attract immigrants in significant numbers until 1867.

On the surface these migrants were rather different from those who had come before. The gross migration figures suggest that a clear majority came from across the Tasman where the Victorian rushes of the previous decade had attracted thousands from England, Scotland and Ireland. Considerably fewer, probably half the number of those from Australia, heard the news in far-off Britain and Ireland and travelled to catch a boat south. The Irish were least likely to have come direct.

The miners came unassisted, and very often came alone rather than in families. They were overwhelmingly male, usually men in their twenties and thirties. Of those arriving from Victoria who reached Otago or the West Coast fields about 87 per cent were men, and the women who did come often followed a year so later, about half of them following their husbands. Despite the image of the goldminers as a horde who chased the gold from California to Victoria and on to the South Island, there were very few 'forty-niners' or even Americans among them. All but about 10 per cent came from the British Isles, and there was

a relatively even spread of English, Scots and Irish – the Scots better represented in the Otago rushes, the Irish the largest single country of birth among the West Coast miners.

Those from Australia tended to be a transient lot, much more likely to go back across the Tasman when the pickings became thin than were those who had come direct.³² A few examples illustrate some of the pathways taken by the miners. Take John Shannon, born in Belfast in 1836. At the age of 21 he sailed to Melbourne, after which he spent several years on the goldfields of both Victoria and New South Wales. In 1861 he joined the rush to Gabriel's Gully, then went on to the Dunstan and Arrow rushes before finally heading for Hokitika in 1865. George and Tryphena Beer represent a slightly different but not unusual pattern. George was the son of a Wiltshire flourmiller. In 1859, aged 21, he married Tryphena and they immediately left for Australia, where they eventually headed for the Victorian goldfields. In 1863 George decided to cross the Tasman to the Otago fields with his brother Henry, leaving his wife and two sons behind. When the brothers struck gold Tryphena and the children were summoned, and they settled at One Mile Creek near Queenstown. Over the next decade a sister and two other brothers came out to the district. The last brother, John, ended his days alone at Te Anau, having earned the nickname 'Jack the hermit'.³³

The third important factor that brought people to New Zealand during the 1860s was the New Zealand Wars. The number of soldier-migrants was not huge, but they were a significant group. Some were men who had been brought to New Zealand with Imperial foot regiments and received their discharge here – many of them at the end of conflicts in Taranaki and the Waikato between 1865 and 1867. There were some 2000 such men, and there must also have been a number who were deserters during the wars. Some of the ex-soldiers, such as William Russell, later had distinguished careers. A trained officer who first came to New Zealand temporarily in 1855 with the 58th Regiment, to duties that were little more than roadmaking, Russell returned when conflict broke out in 1861. Evidently he preferred the life of a landowner to that of a soldier, as he resigned his commission and acquired 31,000 acres of Hawke's Bay land. He eventually entered national politics, becoming a cabinet minister and the acknowledged leader of the opposition during Richard Seddon's long reign as premier.³⁴

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Edward Lofley was one of the more unusual people brought to New Zealand by the New Zealand Wars. He arrived in February 1863 on the naval vessel *Orpheus*, which was bringing troops to the wars. When the ship was wrecked on the Manukau Harbour bar it resulted in the greatest loss of life of any New Zealand shipwreck. Lofley fought in the Waikato War, joined the Armed Constabulary, and then set up a spa and bath-house at Taupo, where he became a favourite guide of tourists on account of his eccentric manner and amusing anecdotes. As in this photo, he usually wore the Armed Constabulary's bush shirt and kilt. ½-044655; F,

ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY



Another group who came to New Zealand as a result of the wars were the so-called Waikato Militia and their families. These men were recruited to serve as militia and settle on land between Auckland and the frontier, to provide both protection for the colonists and a base for further land acquisition. Some were recruited in Otago, rather more in Australia, especially on the goldfields of Victoria, in late 1863 and 1864. If we include over a thousand who settled in Taranaki, the census of 1864 reported over 6000 military settlers (although well over a thousand of these came from Otago rather than from overseas). The Waikato Militia included some interesting characters, such as the Londoner 'Garrulous Garrard', who came from Sydney in 1864 with the 4th Regiment. He used to orate on street corners on behalf of the

unemployed, claiming that he had served in war 'to protect the capitalist' and received nothing but 'starvation'. In fact, he was later appointed Auckland's first dog ranger.³⁵

At the same time as the Waikato Militia were being recruited there was an associated scheme to settle migrants a bit further north on confiscated land to provide a defensive barrier for Auckland. Originally 20,000 people were to be brought in, but in the end under 5000 arrived between November 1864 and June 1865. This scheme brought settlers from Cape Town, London, Glasgow and two ports in Ireland (Queenstown and Kingstown), many of whom settled around Pukekohe.

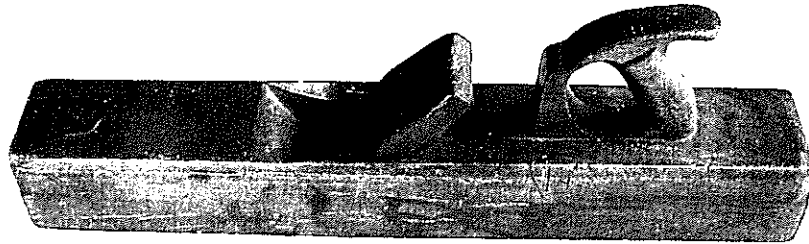
Provincial immigrants, goldminers and soldiers therefore formed the bulk of New Zealand's new settlers during these years. Since all three of these groups came in especially large numbers in the years 1862-65, it is hardly surprising that those years represented a torrent that would not be equalled until the mid-1870s.

1871-1890

That next flood largely resulted from two factors: in Britain the early and later 1870s saw over 200,000 people pack their trunks each year and head overseas as the economic dislocations in the rural areas began to hit; and in New Zealand Julius Vogel unveiled an ambitious scheme to develop the country. Vogel, a Londoner with a Jewish background, had come out to the Victorian goldfields but soon discovered that mining stories was more to his taste than mining gold. When news of the Otago strikes reached him he decided to ply his trade in the newest gold centre, and in 1861 he migrated to Dunedin. By 1870 Vogel was colonial treasurer. Realising that the gold boom was fading, he believed the central government had to encourage and organise the economic growth of the country. Foreign loans and investment in infrastructure, especially the railways, were part of his vision. The other part was organised immigration which would provide the labour to exploit the new opportunities. It was also hoped that immigrant settlement and public works like roads and railways would help settle down the North Island frontier following the New Zealand Wars. The migrants might become established on land confiscated from Maori.

The Immigration and Public Works Bill, introduced into Parliament in 1870, gave the central government power to enter into contracts to

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The carpentry plane of Thomas Dewson, an Englishman who joined many other builders and carpenters as assisted migrants to New Zealand in the 1870s. Dewson worked in New Zealand making furniture and carving the coats of arms on government buildings. PRIVATE COLLECTION

bring to New Zealand the number and type of immigrants requested by the provincial superintendents. Over the next few years government involvement became more extensive. Eventually the central government's responsibilities included providing for subsidised and free passages, a scheme that allowed friends, relatives and employers to nominate people for assisted passages, the centralisation of recruitment in the hands of the London-based office of the agent-general, and extensive efforts using recruitment agents and lecturers to attract people to New Zealand. The groups who were particularly targeted in these campaigns were agricultural labourers, builders and craftsmen, young married couples and single women who were expected to come out as domestic servants.

Over the next 20 years 115,578 assisted immigrants came to New Zealand, about a third of the gross immigration in the years 1871-90. In fact this figure slightly underplays the importance of the schemes, for in the years of really large assisted flows (1871-79), when almost 100,000 assisted migrants arrived, they represented 54 per cent of all immigrants. Further, for the whole period the assisted made up almost six in every ten of those who came direct from the United Kingdom. Of course the less visible immigrants were the 40 per cent of incomers during these years who came from Australia, but many of these were short-term migrants who flitted back across the ditch when times got tough.

THE EBBS AND FLOWS OF MIGRATION

So government assistance made a major contribution to New Zealand's settlement, especially if we consider how often the promotion of New Zealand by immigration agents and the letters back home from those assisted encouraged paying migrants to get on a ship south. The work of attracting the migrants was in the hands of an army of agents scattered around the British Isles. By 1872 there were 53 in England and Wales, 78 in Scotland and 46 in Ireland.³⁶ The year 1874 saw a flood-tide as 32,000 assisted migrants entered the country. Thereafter the overall numbers fell, while the proportions from Scotland and especially Ireland rose.

Among those who came from England married couples with or without children predominated, whereas among the Scots, and especially the Irish, single men and women were more common. A good example of an English assisted family were the Fissendens. They came from Birling on the Medway in Kent, where several generations had been farm labourers and dissenters. As rural populations rose and commons in the area were enclosed, times became tough. At one stage five members of the family were in the Birling Poor House. One of the family, Frederick, had twelve children, and five of them came out to New Zealand on assisted passages. First Ellen and John came together on the *Avalanche* in October 1874, and both settled in Nelson. Then the wife of a third sibling, Phillip, died in November of that year leaving three young sons. Phillip wanted to follow his brother and sister but the immigration regulations did not provide assistance to widowers. So when he boarded the *Hannibal* for New Zealand in March 1875 he came as a single man and a farm labourer, while one son went as a child to his sister Emily, and the other two to a second sister, Eliza.

It was not all happiness in New Zealand. Ellen, who had come out as a domestic servant, married in 1877 but died two years later. Her brother John died in January 1893 in what the *New Zealand Herald* described as 'a lonely death' as a result of too much drink and too little food. Phillip, however, remarried, had eleven children, bought a farm in Marlborough and died as the family patriarch aged 75.³⁷

One of the many single Irish women who came out was Annie Dowd. Born in County Kerry, she came out on an assisted passage in 1878 as a 16-year-old general servant. Her arrival was unusual as the ship, *City of Auckland*, was grounded on Otaki Beach and she walked to

Waikanae and on to Wellington. But her troubles were not over. She married Louis Chemis, an Italian labourer, who was then convicted of stabbing and shooting to death a landlord. Annie fought to prove his innocence, and got a job as a charwoman in Parliament Buildings. Louis was finally released, but sixteen months later blew himself up with dynamite. Annie became the longest serving charwoman in the public service and eventually retired after 32 years of cleaning.³⁸

The 1870s also saw several special settlements. The assisted immigration drive was kicked off by an agreement with the railway contractor John Brogden and Son, who was responsible for bringing out over 2000 people in 1872-73 to work as navvies on New Zealand railways. Despite this, many of the men recruited were agricultural labourers, not navvies, and nearly all were from southern England.³⁹ Then in 1871 Colonel H. W. A. Feilding obtained the Manchester block of 106,000 acres in Manawatu from Wellington province on behalf of the Emigrant and Colonists' Aid Corporation, a philanthropic group that assisted people who were out of work. Over a thousand people, again overwhelmingly English, came out to settle in the Halcombe area in 1874-77. The third scheme was that of Colonel Vesey Stewart, which brought out two shiploads of Protestants from northern Ireland to Katikati in the Bay of Plenty in 1875-78. Then in 1880-83 Stewart recruited settlers from throughout the British Isles for a settlement at Te Puke.

In the 1880s, despite continuing migration from Britain generally, the numbers of assisted immigrants and total British immigrants to New Zealand were small, except for a brief revival of assistance in 1883-84. Economic depression began to bite, and there was public opposition to immigration. In December 1887 nominated immigration was stopped and immigration offices were disestablished.⁴⁰ Large numbers of people who had come to New Zealand in the boom times of the 1860s and mid-1870s began to move across the Tasman where, especially in Victoria, wages were higher and jobs more plentiful. One who had already moved back by 1880 was Patrick Hannan, an Irish emigrant who had initially gone to the Victorian goldfields then come out to the New Zealand fields in the 1860s. His decision to return to Australia was obviously a wise one since he subsequently achieved fame and temporary fortune as the discoverer of the richest goldfield in Australia, at Kalgoorlie in 1893.⁴¹ From 1885 to 1890 the numbers who

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departed New Zealand's shores exceeded those who arrived by over 4000 people. In 1888 alone over 9000 people said goodbye to New Zealand. The last 44 assisted migrants arrived in 1891.

1891-1915

The 1890s was also a decade of slow immigration. From 1891 to 1903 there were no schemes for assisting immigration and the continued sluggishness of the economy was a disincentive to come to New Zealand. In every year of the 1890s apart from 1893, net immigration was well under 5000 people. The turn of the century brought better times as the returns from refrigerated meat and butter fuelled a growing national self-confidence. The first fifteen years of the century brought one of the most important, but least acknowledged, migrations in New Zealand history. Almost 300,000 people born in the United Kingdom landed on New Zealand's shores. In 1904 assisted immigration was again introduced, and for the next eleven years assisted migrants comprised about a third of the people arriving direct from the United Kingdom. Those years saw over a quarter of a million people leave the United Kingdom each year, and New Zealand was able to capture a small part of this massive outflow.

However, by this time direct migration from the other side of the globe was no longer the dominant source of immigrants to New Zealand. Throughout the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth, Australia was very important as a point of departure. Over twice as many of the arrivals had spent time in Australia as came direct from Britain or Ireland (although the numbers are distorted by the inclusion of short-term visitors in the official figures). Some of those who arrived from Australia were people who had migrated from the British Isles to New South Wales or Victoria, then moved across the Tasman as economic depression and drought led to tough times. Others were Australian-born children of British and Irish immigrants – people like Michael Joseph Savage, the son of an Irish immigrant to Victoria, who came across in 1907 to join fellow Victorian Paddy Webb, who had arrived two years earlier. Thirty years later the two would be members of the same Labour cabinet along with three other Australian arrivals in these years – Mark Fagan, Robert Semple and William Parry.

SETTLERS



Walter and Lotty Nash on board ship on the way to New Zealand in 1909. Although born in Worcestershire, Walter had spent most of his early life in Birmingham, where he sold tobacco and sweets. When economic depression hit the area and the family suffered illness and the death of a daughter, the couple decided to make a fresh start in New Zealand. 1/2-035215, ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY

The migrants who arrived from Australia were especially important in 1892 and 1893, and again in the first few years of the new century. In general they included more men than women, while those coming direct from the British Isles included many family groups including children. Since domestic servants (along with farm labourers) remained an occupation of preference for assistance, quite a number of single women also came out. Nomination by relatives was again used as a basis for assistance, and indeed about half the assisted came out on this basis, quite a number being the wives and children of men who had migrated earlier.

It is also clear from the passenger lists that four in every five coming direct from the old country in these years were English and very few (about 3 per cent) were from Ireland. By contrast the Australian incomers did include considerable numbers of people of Irish or Scots birth. The English included a growing number from the north of England,

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such as the Dickinson brothers who had worked in the cotton mills of Preston, in Lancashire, and who came to join their mates in Sydenham, Christchurch.⁴² There were also some middle-class migrants, such as Cecil Brooke and his two teenage sons. Cecil was a lawyer in Surrey, and 'a fine upstanding English gentleman, devoted to his maker, to his Monarch, to his country and to his family'. The three came out in 1910 to purchase land at Kaikoura.⁴³

Migrants of a rather different stripe were the 'Clarionettes'. Their migration was the brainchild of William Ranstead, the son of a Cheshire fitter, who became a Fabian socialist. Following a visit to New Zealand in 1899 during which he met Richard Seddon and was impressed by the labour laws, Ranstead wrote glowing articles about this 'socialist Canaan' in his newspaper the *Clarion*. He then organised a migration of working people to come out in four ships. In all about a thousand of them reached New Zealand, where they were among the founders of the New Zealand Socialist Party.⁴⁴

1916-1945

Not surprisingly the Great War brought a halt to large-scale immigration, but with the coming of peace the pace increased. Between 1919 and 1927 trans-Tasman movements were not large, but there was a new and substantial movement of people direct from Britain, and to a very much lesser extent Ireland, to New Zealand. Once more schemes of assistance played a significant role in the movement of people: indeed, of the 120,000 who arrived direct from the United Kingdom between 1919 and 1930 almost 60 per cent (over 70,000) came with some form of assistance. In 1921 the right to nominate people for assisted passages was extended from relatives to any New Zealand resident who could promise the applicant employment. This was a recognition that new immigrants 'would not all be farm immigrants'.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, domestic servants and farm labourers could still apply for passages, and some 4000 domestic servants did so.⁴⁶ However, 90 per cent of those who came as assisted migrants were nominated rather than applying independently.⁴⁷

There was a variety of schemes of assistance. Up to and including 1920, most of the assisted were the British wives, children or fiancées of New Zealand servicemen. These liaisons were often hurried. May